855 to replenish the fire and tell his dream to the household. Often a pot is
513 placed on the fire for a midnight snack at this time.

There is also a good deal of movement in the village at night. Men have been out discussing finance; boys have been out courting, and when they return there is inevitably a certain amount of disturbance.
538 There are also the night dances, which average one every eight days throughout the year, and during the dry season from June through October may average as many as one every five or six nights. Many
857 children even of five years or less are taken to these dances and they snatch what sleep they can.

Those who can be left at home in someone's care must sleep less soundly because of the coming and going and the sound of singing all night. It is a common sight to see children taking cat naps at all times. Sometimes they lean back between the legs or against the side of a seated parent who is chatting with guests. Often they crawl off under the eaves with small companions and doze for a time, only to wake up and rejoin the adults. Toddlers learn to sleep anytime and anywhere except on the ground, which they already know is taboo. Children barely two or three years old are often seen sleeping quite alone on a verandah during the day. Their rest even more than their food is a matter of small concern and casual attention from adults.

TALKING

868 Satisfactory information on talking is scant. When crying for attention most children of one or two years will intersperse their cries with rhythmic wails that sound as though they were trying to say,
195 "Mother, mother, alack, alas (*niae, niae, adiye, adiye*)," which is the formalized type of wailing used by adults, especially women, in connection with deaths and catastrophes. These words are used also as general expressions of consternation. In terms of adult psychology, it is interesting that the cry of distress should, by formalization, be directed to the mother.

Another word that is learned very early is the imperative for *give* (*mo*). Children who are just beginning to walk can be seen holding out their hands, usually in the direction of food, and saying "Mo!" over and over again. There is little doubt that children from two to four years are in command of sufficient vocabulary to make their wishes
195 known. Under the stimulus of rage even five-year-olds are quite fluent
868 in their use of imprecations. One little boy whose aunt was trying to
865 make him carry a basket to his mother when he was more interested in playing, turned on her and said, "Evil spirit, evil spirit! May you have

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dysentery, may you have smallpox!" (*Kari berka, kari berka! Asi berka, tepuka berka!*) Quite apart from the fluency this implies, it was a singularly bad bit of cursing, since both are particularly dreaded diseases. To make matters worse his grandfather had just died of dysentery and everyone in the household was afraid of the ghost. [195] 868 865

My evidence for early speech is confined largely to imprecations during temper tantrums, since in most other respects small children were quite shy in attempting to talk. They were to be seen occasionally addressing a few words quietly to an age-mate or asking an older person for something. There was no direct speech training given by adults. In fact, there was a definite pattern of ridiculing the mistakes of children and teasing them about such errors. Children have to pick up speech through the absorptive processes of hearing older people talk and having instructions addressed to them.

DISCIPLINE

This brings us to another element that enters in early childhood and may continue through the entire life of the less assertive adults, especially women. As soon as a child can toddle about and understand commands, it may be sent on errands and ordered by any adult to give small services. In early childhood such services consist of little more than fetching and carrying things at hand. There is no equivalent of *please* or *thank you* in the Abui language, and the tone of voice in which such services are requested is clearly peremptory. As the anecdote just told in connection with talking indicates, children soon learn to rebel. Demands and modes of escape are more clearly developed in late childhood (see Chapter 5), but pressure and resistance are established early. 857 [865]

Since the Alorese have few sacred objects, commands are not loaded with prohibitions. Not all houses contain an ancestral hearth or other sacred objects that children are supposed to avoid. There is little feeling of sacredness attached to any paraphernalia, and taboo restrictions are few and casually observed, so that no heavy burden of learning along these lines is placed on small children. Already at this stage children are not so much debarred from adult activity as given no role in it. This means that such learning as goes on is largely in terms of restrictive discipline and absorption, rather than permissive discipline or deliberate training. 858 861

The preceding paragraphs adumbrate the system of shame, ridicule, and teasing that older children and adults use in dealing with their juniors. For instance, it was quite common when children were crying, for mothers to say, "Shame. Don't you see So-and-so is here and sees 861 865

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see me. He started back up the slope. I whistled softly to Manimau, who stood up to listen. He saw Langmani Besar coming. He ran. Langmani chased and caught him. Manimau urinated on Langmani's foot. Langmani said, "Your mother's vagina [or 'copulate with your mother,' a common curse]. Why do you urinate on my foot? Go cook your squash. I'll come for you tomorrow." I ran away to Loma and slept in Manikari's father's house there. I told him I had been guarding the garden from rats, was cold, and so came to him to sleep. At dawn Langmani beat gongs in Dikimpe [to announce the theft]. Then I told Manikari's father about what had happened. I said, "If no one mentions my name, don't say anything." He said, "All right, we won't say anything. Hide in the loft." The father of Langmani Besar shouted after they had beaten the gongs and said, "Lakakalieta, my pig came and destroyed your garden but I paid for it. That wasn't theft. It came in daylight. Now your child comes to my garden to steal. Give me back my pig and my squash. Put my squash back on the vine so it will live." They went before the chief to litigate. Manimau said that I had gone with him, so people set out to search for me. Manikari's father said I wasn't there. The people said I had been mentioned in the litigation, so I came down from the loft. Father called that I had better come and talk clearly. I went to the chief and sat on the ground. The chief asked if I had taken a squash and I said, "Yes. But we were sleeping soundly when Lakakalieta woke us and ordered us to go fetch squash that grew near the house." The chief said, "If that is so, the fault is not yours. Lakakalieta must himself pay the fine." Then Lakakalieta's familiar spirit possessed him and he ran up and down, shouting, "I'll pay. That isn't much. I'll pay." The chief hit him because he was acting crazy, and Lakakalieta defecated in his loincloth. Lakakalieta had to pay a pig, a red headcloth [*masala*], and eight arrows.

February 19, 1939

When I was about sixteen or seventeen, Padama of the Maughieta lineage died. The older men assembled all of us Maughieta people to go ask for a shroud. We went to Alurkowati to ask for Makanma's. He gave it to us with a pig, two large corn bundles, and a can of rice. Alofe carried the rice, Fanalo carried the corn, and I carried the pig. I tripped in a tuber hole and the pig fell. Father was angry and said, "If you throw away pigs, by and by you won't know how to get any." So father carried the pig as far as Lanwala's field and then gave it back to me. At the village the older men wrapped the corpse while we younger ones sat on the verandah. They buried Padama that day, and on the

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"Tilapada is my husband." Kolpada I told her to get another husband. The two fought. Then the "wives" said, "Men, come pile the stones [men's work]!" I called to the other "men" to help me while our "wives" cooked sweet potatoes for us. We shot another rat. Kolpada I said, "My husband has just shot a pig. He comes carrying it. He is a rich man. If your husbands are so big, tell them to fetch pigs. If they don't, I am the only one with a rich husband." [At this point the informant and the interpreter were laughing so hard they were scarcely coherent.] The other wives said, "Your husband is a rich man because he fetches pigs; let us eat them. We shall cook rice baskets." So we roasted the rat, and the wives mashed potatoes and made imitation rice baskets. We used flat stones as serving dishes. I divided the meat. Then I said, "I am a man, so I shan't eat of my feast."

[She interrupted herself to say that she had told her friends about her recounting their play activities. They had laughed heartily together. Her friends had said that they would all come themselves to me. They had said, "If you use our names our legs will tickle." This was considered a sign that somebody was talking about one.]

Then we said we should dance. Kolpada I said, "My rich husband must begin the dance." So I began the dance. The men all joined me and the wives joined their husbands, putting their arms around them. Two of the other wives danced with me and Kolpada I said, "You are taking my husband. Maybe you have already chewed areca with him [a euphemism for sexual intimacy]." They fought, so I hit them with a rattan switch. After this Kolpada I cooked a large sweet potato for me. Lonmai cooked me only half a one. Kolpada I said, "You are not cooking good food for our husband." Then Kolpada I fought with Lonmai. I said, "Don't fight." Kolpada I said, "We are fighting and our husband is angry with us. We had better stop." Then Kolpada II said, "You are rich and have two wives. They are always fighting. We have only one and have a bit more quiet." Then my two wives cooked for me. The other men said, "Why don't you call us to eat with you?" So I called them to come eat with me. The men ate together in one place and the wives ate together in another.

All this was in one day of play. We had gone to cut weeds, but we didn't work; we just played. Then we decided to cut some weeds. We said, "Each wife must work with her husband." So the husbands and wives worked close to each other. My two wives worked on either side of me. One had areca in her basket and she gave it to me. I split it and divided it. Then Matinglang was angry with Kolang. She said, "My

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Once I and many other people were having our teeth blackened. [39X] Some of the women were already married, so they lived in one place. The rest of us were together in another place; I and one of my uncles were with them. My uncle's wife was in the place with the married women. That made my uncle angry, so he went to their hut and broke their pots. People ran up with clubs and they fought. [Stop.] At this time Fanlang slept with another man's wife. He and her husband fought with clubs.

Rualani and Lonmau had already spoken to each other. They wished to marry and were sleeping together. Rualani's and Padakameng's familiar spirits rose in them, or they said they did. Padakameng would say over and over again, "*Titipukaleng, titipukaleng* [nonsense syllables]." Then he would run up and rub a girl's breasts. Rualani would stick out his tongue and say, "Ha! Ha! Ha!" Every evening they played that way. The girls would all run away from them, and the two boys would chase the girls and rub them. Because of the way Rualani acted, Lonmau married Letfani. Letfani's first wife, Fuiata, fought all the time with Lonmau. They stopped only when Fuiata took her children and left. Then Lonmau and Letfani lived together until he died. [Stop.] After a time she married Fanma. They had no children. Fanma fell from an areca tree and died. [Stop.] Then Lonmau married Karmating of File. They came here to live. While they were still living together, Fanlang slept with her. After that Lonmau threw away her husband and lived with Fanlang. She was his second wife. When he bought two more wives, she didn't want him any more. [Stop.] There was a feast at Motpining. Lonmau went to help with the feast. After it was over, Fanlang didn't want her any more. Lonmau took two Hawataka mokos from Langmani to pay back Fanlang's bride-price. She didn't beget any more children, even when she lived steadily with Langmani. Once those two had a fight, and Langmani said she was Lonkabuikmau. [This epithet was composed of the name of a [195] sterile wild banana inserted between the two syllables of her own name, *Lon* and *mau*.] Lonmau told Langmani he was Langkabuikmani. After that Lonmau got medicine to cure her of sterility. She had two children and then her husband died. [Stop.]

Before Langmani died he wanted to give a death feast for his parents. After he made the verandah his body wasted away. While he was sick he went to stay with Nicolas [a seer]. After a time his body filled out again. He went back to Alurkowati, where he fell ill again and died. [Stop.] That same year many of his kinsmen died. A lot of people

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poisoned her spirits?] Every night the spirits rose in me so that I couldn't sleep. I wandered around talking to people and chewing areca with them. Langmai was afraid I might sleep with other men. Langmai got a chicken. I had just one handful of rice left, because it was a hungry time, but we fed the spirits' hearth, and then our illness went away. [Stop.] I told Langmai, "If you don't make me a boat carving, hang it over the hearth of my spirits, and feed them, we shall surely die." He made a boat carving and hung it over the hearth. After we fed it, we were soon well. [Stop.]

When we were strong again, we went to a field and built a house there. The chief of Atimelang came and asked us for our taxes. We didn't pay them, so he hit us both with a rattan switch. Then Maikalieta's wife, Fuimai, said, "Don't beat my brother and my brother's wife." She paid a rupiah on our taxes. [Stop.] At this time we went to stay with Maikalieta. He said we had to pay back his money. So I and Langmai went to gather tamarind fruit; we pitted them and sold them in Kalabahi to pay back that rupiah. When we paid it I said, "I made a field and planted it. I asked Fuimai to weed it, saying we would be partners in the field. We divided the corn. That was to pay back the money we owed her. But now that we have paid the money in cash also, who will give back my corn?" Maikalieta chased us away and said we could not stay there any more. But Fuimai was angry with him and said, "Do my brother and his wife sleep on your lap or arms, that you order them away?" That ended the quarrel and we stayed on. Then one day Langmai and Alurkomai dropped Maikalieta's dog out of the house and it yelped. Maikalieta shouted, "Who is hitting my dog? Are you copulating with it [a very insulting suggestion]?" So they answered, "Who is copulating with the dog? If you want to copulate with it, come on." Maikalieta was angry and said, "You can't stay here. Go away and sleep wherever you wish." It was the rainy season; clouds were hanging low and rain was falling. The two men cried and ran to Maugata in Lawatika. They were all young at the time and were accustomed to play together.

April 25, 1939

Last night I dreamed I went up to Mailang's house in Folafeng. I dreamed I had a small field house near his. I saw people lead two carabaos toward us and tie them to the posts of my house. After a while Mailang and Maikalieta came with another carabao, a black one, and tied it to my house. I asked why they tied three large carabaos to my